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CATHOLICS AND PRESSURE GROUPS

– William P. Clancy

THE

Commonweal

A New Farm Policy

by Martin E. Schirber

and

Emerson Hynes

DAVID RIESMAN WAYNE ANDREWS LEO R. WARD

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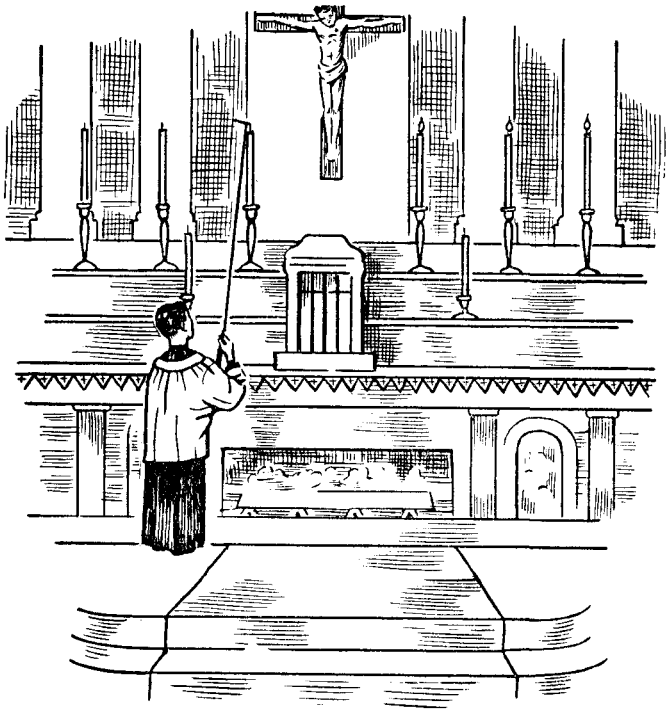

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THE

Commonweal

week by week

THE CASE OF HARRY DEXTER WHITE

THE magic wand of business management unaccountably failed to make magic. The New Team has been at work for a year in Washington and the nation's basic problems have not changed. Farm prices have dropped, and organized labor is more unfriendly to the GOP than ever. Jet aircraft cost Republicans no less than they did the Democrats, and Secretary Wilson is nervously playing with the idea of replacing troops in NATO with atom bombs in Omaha. AD-X2 doesn't work no matter how many scientists analyze it. The election in November proved this year to have been an unsatisfactory one for the Republicans. So Attorney General Herbert Brownell and his associates decided that the scandals of the past would make better campaign material than the realities of the present.

Their decision can hardly shock those Democrats who ran against Herbert Hoover for twenty years, but the Republican decision did have a frankness which was cold-blooded even for these cold years of the fifties.

The Case of Harry Dexter White was advertised as the first in a series of disclosures. But the cases yet to come could hardly match the first for cynicism parading as ingenuousness.

Obviously, if the Democratic Administration was so lax or so naive as knowingly to permit Soviet agents to work in high government positions, then it is in the public interest that the facts be revealed. The problem in the first ten days of the Harry Dexter White Case was that no one except the public seemed to be interested in the facts.

Mr. Brownell deliberately selected only those facts which would make a politically useful polemic, and in a speech titled "Ethics in Government," stated that Harry Dexter White "was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him" to be the United States Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund. "The very people who appointed him" were one Harry S. Truman. Standing as it did, unqualified, it was a charge of deliberate malfeasance, and the protestations of Mr. Brownell that he meant "laxity," coming after the Eisenhower press conference, could hardly change things.

Then came the opportunists. A staff member of the House Un-American Activities Committee said, "We should get in the act," and Committee Chairman Velde took it upon himself to subpoena Mr. Truman, Governor Byrnes, and Justice Clark.

Mr. Truman also took a turn at doing foolish things, saying first that he "knew nothing of any FBI report" on White, and then that he "fired" White as soon as he found him to be "disloyal." These statements were immediately contradicted by Governor Byrnes. Mr. Truman then retired to pungent silence and consultation, emerging last week to charge Brownell contemptuously with lying and with prostituting the powers and position of Attorney General for political advantage. He stated that he had learned of the charges against White only after Senate confirmation of White to the International Monetary Fund post. Then, Mr. Truman said, he talked with the then Secretary of Treasury Vinson and then Secretary of State Byrnes, and decided to leave White in the IMF position, under surveillance, so as not to jeopardize the investigation of Soviet espionage which the government was at that time conducting.

BROWNELL had acted irresponsibly, Velde had performed so stupidly that he embarrassed even the calloused Republican National Committee; it remained for President Eisenhower to say friendly things about all concerned, an elastic feat, and to demonstrate considerable innocence of knowledge about the controversy. At his press conference, the President indicated that he was unfamiliar with the details of the war which for five days had been raging between his Attorney General and the ex-President of the United States, and he indicated furthermore that he really didn't take it to be any particular business of his. He referred the press to Mr. Brownell. And Mr. Brownell wasn't seeing the press.

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The Attorney General obviously wanted to take public interest away from the mundane troubles of the Administration, to capitalize on an emotion-charged issue. He has succeeded in that. He has succeeded in turning facts into polemics, and in thoroughly obscuring the issue in the bitter fog of political exploitation. With the assistance of Mr. Velde and the Republican National Committee, he has turned the momentous case of Harry Dexter White into the most disreputable political adventure of the year.

THE TARIFF CONTROVERSY

IF AMERICAN business executives are no longer for protectionism almost to a man, high tariff advocates in this country are as vociferous as ever. We cite recent representations from the chemical and shipping industries (the latter to urge shipping in American bottoms), which trot out a number of the ancient arguments in support of economic nationalism.

There is the difficulty of competing with lower foreign wages and generally lower production costs. The competitive advantage derived from lower taxes and subsidies from foreign governments is also cited. There is a special emphasis on national defense. What if foreign competitors should be so successful that the United States should become dependent upon them for vital chemicals? Or, the shipping companies ask, if war should come and foreign ships should again be withdrawn from our waters, where would the United States be?

These are serious contentions, however interested their motivation. They have to be taken into account when trade and shipping policies are formulated. Giving them their due weight is the problem. For there are other factors which point in the opposite direction—toward freer trade and the encouragement of foreign enterprise. Secretary Majorin of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation declares that under present trade restrictions things are becoming critical. The free world needs freer trade and wider markets. M. Majorin proposes economic cooperation on an Atlantic scale.

Here at home the Randall Commission on Foreign Economic Policy is putting together its extensive findings as a basis for legislation by Congress, so that this argument is currently very much to the point. Continued American prosperity is indeed essential for the security of the free world, but that prosperity is intimately involved in the capacity of other peoples to buy American goods, or a good market for their exports over here. Moreover, allies in chronic economic difficulties need constant shoring up. The achieving of a happy balance among these opposing demands is difficult in the extreme.

The chances are that the Randall Commission will come up with a more statesmanlike series of recommendations than Congress itself will effect. The habit of mutual back-scratching and log-rolling is deeply ingrained in both House and Senate. Many Congressman speak directly for locally produced commodities or local industries first and foremost in tariff matters. They exchange supports. As a result, the effort to achieve freer trade policies in the broader national (and international) interest appears in for some mighty rough going.

NEXT WEEK

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON writes, in the Christmas Book Number, on the study of Christian culture and its place in education.

"It seems to me that the time is ripe for a new approach to the subject, since our whole educational system—and not in one country alone, but throughout the Western world—is passing through a period of rapid and fundamental change. The old domination of classical humanism has passed away, and nothing has taken its place except the scientific specialisms which do not provide a complete intellectual education, but rather tend to disintegrate into technologies. Every educationalist recognizes that this is unsatisfactory. A scientific specialist or a technologist who has nothing but his specialism is not an educated person. He tends to become merely an instrument of the industrialist or the bureaucrat, a worker ant in an insect society, and the same is true of the literary specialist, though his social function is less obvious."

MONTEZUMA

SINCE public controversy about religious persecution in Mexico has long been absent from this nation's headlines and recent Mexican governments have become more conciliatory, it is easy to overlook a great work that began at the height of the persecution below the Rio Grande. This training of Mexican aspirants for the priesthood at Montezuma, N. M., is still going on. An impressive fact that emerges from the new volume of Bishop John M. Gannon's Montezuma papers, prepared by Msgr. James M. Powers, is that nearly eight hundred priests from this seminary-in-exile are now laboring in their native land.

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This magnificent achievement covers a space of seventeen years. It has been financed primarily by the Catholics of the United States under the leadership of the hierarchy. This incalculable gift to the people of Mexico is one instance where men and women in this country took the need of a next-door neighbor to heart. The seminary at Montezuma also recalls earlier centuries when seminaries-in-exile were established at Salamanca, Spain, and Douai, France, to train and ordain Irish and English aspirants for the priesthood who returned to their homelands at the risk of martyrdom. Montezuma also recalls the Christian injunction (from Saint Matthew): "When they persecute you in one town, flee to another."

MR. NIXON IN KOREA

EVERY political campaign seems to have its quota of baseless charges and general mudslinging. But by now most observers probably agree that the last campaign had more than its fair share of character assassination and political irresponsibility, even though present indications are that the level of political discussion in the immediate future is likely to go even lower.

One serious example of such irresponsibility on a matter which vitally affected national security was the platform treatment given the war in Korea. Standard equipment for many a Republican orator were phrases like "Truman's war" or "the useless war," and speeches were larded with plentiful references to the "wasted lives" of the American soldiers who died there.

Whether amends can ever be made to men whose reputations were unfairly damaged during last fall's in-fighting is questionable. But Vice-President Nixon is evidently trying to repair some of the damage done by irresponsible orators on the subject of Korea. Visiting there on his official tour, Mr. Nixon issued a strongly worded statement reprimanding those who talk of a "useless war in Korea." The people of the free world must never forget, he said, that the war in Korea was necessary; failure to act would have meant that armed aggression by the Communists was approved and would have encouraged further adventures.

This statement by Mr. Nixon is a far cry from some of the oratory to which the nation was exposed last November before his party won office. But it is better late than never, and we hope the Vice-President's words from Korea will silence the last echoes of November's partisan oratory on a subject which was then, as now, much too serious to be used for partisan purposes.

NO-RAIDING PACT

ON the labor front, few things annoy the general public quite as much as jurisdictional disputes in which rival unions contend for the privilege of organizing a particular group of workers. And few things anger labor leaders quite as much as organizational drives by other unions among workers over whom they claim jurisdiction. Therefore the no-raiding pact recently arrived at between the CIO and the AFL seemed sure to win applause from all concerned, both inside and outside the labor movement.

But no-raiding pacts are worthless if there are exceptions, and the big exception in this case is David Beck, of the AFL Teamsters Union, whose example is likely to spread among other AFL unions. Ambitious and aggressive, Mr. Beck is currently engaged in organizing teamsters and warehousemen now in CIO unions, and consequently he is dragging his feet about signing the new peace pact. As a result, it looks as if the general public and other labor leaders will have to wait a little longer for the badly needed no-raiding agreement to become effective.

"EVERYONE OR NO ONE"

ON several occasions in recent years, lawyers for accused Communists have done their best to debase U.S. courtroom procedure. Judge Medina, for example, suffered for months from outrageous tactics employed by the counsel for the Communists on trial in his court. Such conduct by lawyers has naturally angered many people, and there has been a growing tendency to identify lawyers in controversial cases with their clients.

One result of this public reaction has been a growing reluctance by some lawyers to participate for the defense in trials relating to Communism. How serious this drift can be, if it is not halted, was recently emphasized by Judge Irving R. Kaufman, the jurist who presided over the Rosenberg trial. "Fundamental constitutional rights either belong to everyone or to no one," he said. "Once a group is deprived of their rights, particularly the right to counsel, the circle of the unprotected spreads with an acceleration ever harder to arrest and virtually impossible to reverse."

In trials involving Communism, lawyers should be expected to conduct themselves in accordance with the normal ethics of the legal profession. But the fact that a few lawyers violated this rule should not be allowed to endanger the rights of the accused, even in unpopular cases.

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SENATOR McCARTHY REPLIES

EARLY in August the North American Newspaper Alliance released to the press a four-part interview with Senator Joseph McCarthy. In it the Senator was asked to comment on his habit of labeling any and all of his critics as "Communists." [See The Commonweal, October 16, 1953, page 29.]

"I'd have to know what critics you have in mind," Senator McCarthy said.

The Commonweal?—"I never said The Commonweal was Communist," the Senator answered. "I just said that, in front of the Jenner Committee, one of its writers refused to say whether he is a Communist or not. From that you can draw your own conclusions."

Upon reading this we wrote to Senator McCarthy and asked him (a) whether the quotation attributed to him was at least substantially correct and (b) who was the writer he referred to. We assured him that we know of no writer for The Commonweal, past or present, who has ever appeared before the Jenner Committee.

Five weeks later the Senator "replied" by asking us "what connection Thomas Davin has with The Commonweal—whether he writes for it, whether he has any voice in determination of policy, etc."

We promptly called the Senator's attention to a statement we had issued to the press shortly after the Mr. Davin in question had appeared before the Jenner Committee and refused to say whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, whether he had ever been in charge of Catholic work for the Party, and whether he had ever tried to influence The Commonweal.

In this statement Mr. Edward S. Skillin, the editor-in-chief of this magazine, said in part: "I recall that [Mr. Davin] was a college acquaintance of a former assistant editor who left this magazine in the '30s. Mr. Davin has never published anything in The Commonweal. To the best of my recollection he visited this office only two or three times, the last time being in 1938."

We further assured Senator McCarthy that Mr. Davin has never at any time written a single line for The Commonweal, that he has never had the slightest voice in determining the magazine's policy, and that, previous to the present incident, four of the present five active editors had never heard of him. We therefore asked the Senator to make a public correction of his own statement (with its dark innuendo: "From that you can draw your own conclusions"), and to bring this correction to the attention of the North American Newspaper Alliance.

Now, some six weeks later, we have received Senator McCarthy's "reply." We publish it in full.

November 12, 1953

I have just returned to the office and received your letter of September 24th which was in answer to mine of September 22nd. Your letter of August 17th has also been brought to my attention.

You inquire what I said before the North American Newspaper Alliance. In view of the fact that I had no prepared manuscript, it would be rather difficult for me to give you a verbatim quote. As I recall, I did mention Davin's testimony as well as the fact that considerable material in your paper constantly follows an extreme left-wing line. I should have pointed out that in your book the traitor is not the Communist but the Senator who dares to expose Communists.

I may have also pointed out that while you referred to your publication as a Catholic magazine, as far as I know, you have no right to use that title unless the fact that apparently your editors feel that because some of them attend the Catholic church they are entitled to call The Commonweal a Catholic magazine. So that there will be no doubt in your mind as to how I feel about your magazine, I feel that you have done and are doing a tremendous disservice to the Catholic church and a great service to the Communist Party. As you well know, papers like the Daily Worker and other well-known Communist and party line papers can be of little benefit to the Communist Party. However, a magazine which falsely and dishonestly masquerades under the title of being a mouthpiece for the Catholic church can perform unlimited service to the Communist movement.

Trusting this answers your inquiry, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Joe McCarthy

No extended comment on this letter seems necessary. It is sufficient to note that Senator McCarthy ignores the point in question (the fact that no Commonweal writer has ever appeared before the Jenner Committee) and apparently refuses to correct the false implications of his widely publicized comments on The Commonweal, resorting instead to his familiar method of personal attack.

Discussion on this level is, of course, impossible and The Commonweal will certainly not stoop to attempt it. But we are indebted to Senator McCarthy for one thing: He has again demonstrated, more effectively than we could ever hope to do, the level of his "crusade."

THE EDITORS.

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A New Farm Policy

"OUR FARM POLICY CANNOT ESCAPE BEING LABELED ISOLATIONIST AND SELFISH AS LONG AS IT PIVOTS ON ARTIFICIAL PRICE SUPPORTS AND RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT"

MARTIN E. SCHIRBER and EMERSON HYNES

AMERICAN agriculture has had a rough year. The familiar cost-price squeeze which has marked the beginning of farm depressions in the past is on again. From August, 1952 to October, 1953 the index of prices received by farmers declined by more than twelve per cent while the index of prices paid by farmers came down less than one per cent. Prices of beef cattle tumbled nearly fifty per cent from their peak in 1951 to their low in September of this year, and belief is widespread that this is merely a foretaste of things to come. And it is scarcely news that farmers are uneasy about the intents of the new Administration in Washington.

It's an old theme, springing from a genuine and deep fear on the part of farmers that they are victims of a price system which can make or break them with deadly impartiality. When the squeeze is on, farmers have traditionally organized. They backed the Granger movement, the Populist and Greenback parties, and the Free Silver campaign of the late nineteenth century. They rallied behind the McNary-Haugen bill after World War I. They enthusiastically supported the New Deal program symbolized by Triple A and parity prices.

The issue is sharply drawn since the present price-support law expires next year and the next session of Congress will be required to approve new and presumably permanent legislation. This therefore is the time to clear away illusions and folklore concerning farm programs and re-examine the broad principles of, and alternative routes to, a sound farm policy. Regrettably, farmers as a whole, and many social-minded citizens along with them, have concentrated on the justice of the parity objective and have failed to evaluate the means. For the harsh reality is that the price-support system with its inevitable acreage and marketing controls is wasteful, ineffective, and in its broad implications, un-Christian.

To begin with, about half of the farm output is produced without benefit of price-supports at all, and for products which are supported, the benefits of the program have been highly exaggerated. Excluding the one million seven hundred thousand part-time and residential farmers, over seventy-five per cent of the farm income goes to the top one-third of the three million seven hundred thousand farmers designated as commercial by the census—and along with it the major share of the alleged benefits of the program. The real tragedy is that the program contributes almost nothing to the solution of the most serious economic problems of agriculture. Despite a decade of sustained prosperity and high employment, the lowest forty per cent of the "commercial" farmers received only ten per cent of the farm income; nor has the program done anything to make life more livable for the two million migratory and other farm workers.

More ironical still, the benefits usually attributed to price supports have in fact been the result of war-time demand, the postwar inflation, or of direct government payments to farmers. Except for this "deliverance by disaster," which permitted the Commodity Credit Corporation to unload its surpluses on a rising market, drastic acreage and marketing controls would have been imperative. The required reduction in output would result in lower gross income. As it is, CCC commodity loans now total one billion three hundred million dollars and inventories acquired under the purchase program another two billion four hundred million dollars. The complications which arise under a support program are illustrated by the butter-oleo dilemma. The Department of Agriculture would like to cut prices and unload some of the nearly billion pounds of cottonseed oil in its inventory; but it fears that this cut in the price of the raw material for oleomargarine will bring down its price and force the CCC to speed up its purchases of butter in order to keep it at ninety per cent of parity—a step the Department views with little enthusiasm since at last report it already held more than a quarter of a billion pounds in cold storage.

When farm groups insist upon mandatory floors under prices at some arbitrary level like parity, they are thereby making it impossible for the price system to perform its primary function of signaling consumers'

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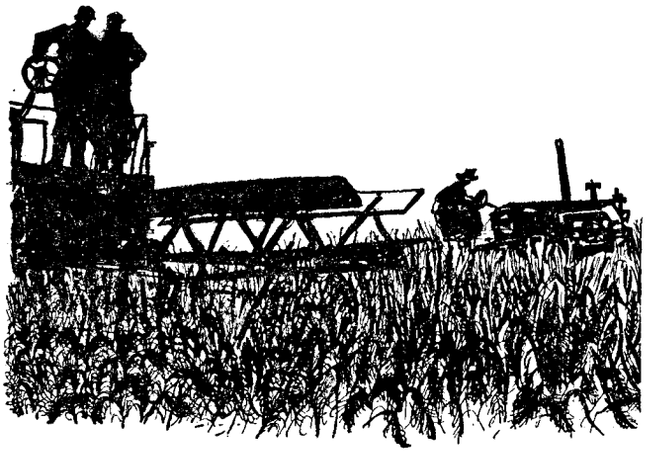

demand and preferences to producers, so that they in turn can make the appropriate shifts in production. This is a mechanism most carefully to be safeguarded and maintained if we wish to avoid the inescapable effect of central direction of the economy by government.

Although price supports at ninety or one hundred per cent of parity take account of changes in prices of things farmers buy, they fail to reflect the revolutionary fall in costs resulting from the constantly improving methods of production. If farm prices are held rigidly at parity, while costs of production continue to fall (at least relatively), farmers have every inducement to expand output. The result is mounting surpluses and the inevitable acreage and marketing controls. Thus, mechanized methods of production and increased use of weed killers, insecticides, and rust-resistant varieties have resulted in such a sharp fall in the cost of production of wheat that during the past decade wheat-raising has been a bonanza. The result is an unbroken series of billion bushel crops since 1944—despite the fact that domestic consumption barely exceeds half a billion bushels. Similar advances in methods of production have been made in corn and rice, and to a somewhat lesser extent in cotton. Hence, the necessity of restoring marketing quotas.

Acreage and marketing controls lead in turn to an endless chain of complications. Farmers understandably reserve their best land for the restricted crop, step up the use of fertilizer and weed killers, and coax the last grain of wheat out of their allotted acreage. More troublesome still, they divert released acreage to unrestricted crops such as feed grains and soybeans. So disturbing is this prospect for 1954 that in announcing price supports for oats, barley, rye, and grain sorghums, the USDA felt obliged to warn farmers against expanding production of these crops on acres released from controlled crops—an appeal of doubtful value since it is hard for the individual farmer to believe that the request applies to *him*.

Perhaps the most injurious effect of the program is that in the long run the farmers will price themselves out of their domestic and foreign markets, especially in a nation like ours where rapid technological advance prevails. About the time a producer has built a cozy price-protected haven for himself, he finds that innovations and substitutes have knocked the bottom out of his market. The dairy farmer has watched the annual consumption of butter drop from seventeen pounds per person in 1938 to less than nine pounds today, although the soybean and cottonseed farmers rejoice to see the consumption of oleo rise from two to nearly eight pounds. Similarly, rayon has replaced cotton as the cord in tires and deprived cotton growers of a market for half a million bales per year, the yield from nearly eight hundred thousand acres.

Moreover, high price supports for the products of an entire industry are entirely incompatible with our general policy of cooperating with other nations in promoting better undersanding and freer trade. If we hold domestic prices above world prices, we are inevitably compelled to adopt various expedients to exclude imports. This is anything but a bargaining point for our representatives at meetings of the International Trade Organization. A two-price system whereby consumers would pay the parity price on the share of the output consumed domestically, while the remainder would be thrown on world markets for what it would bring, would be an open declaration of economic nationalism and equally objectionable.

The final irony of the price support policy is the complete disregard of the embattled consumer. In so far as price supports are effective, they deprive the housewife of the benefits of technological advance and international competition, and force her to pay a higher price than would be otherwise necessary. However, since the farmer's share of the consumer's food dollar seldom rises above fifty cents and recently has fallen to a low of forty-four cents, it is obvious that there are intermediaries between the farmer and consumer who are taking a generous slice.

FROM the over-all viewpoint, our economic policies must be determined against the principles of morality. Thus, the price-support, production-control policy must be weighed for inequities to consumers, neglect of small producers, and migrant workers, and so forth. Above all it must be examined from the viewpoint of the needs of hungry people around the world. The memory of the slaughter of little pigs in the 1930s comes back to haunt us. It is even less edifying that we are once again scurrying around like frightened rabbits in our efforts to restrict the productivity of one of the world's great food producing areas. If our national immigration policy has been rightly labelled isolationist and selfish, our farm policy cannot escape a similar charge as long as it pivots on artificial price supports

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and restriction of output. Nor is such a restrictionist philosophy becoming to our American tradition of bold ingenuity and abundant production.

It should be clear that what we propose is not a return to *laissez faire* agriculture. Our criticism of the present policy comes not from a lack of sympathy for the problems of the farmer, but rather from the conviction that both farmer and consumer deserve better.

The farmer is beset with economic problems which place him in a class by himself. His occupation is the largest, and nearly the last, segment of the economy still ruled by atomistic competition. If any one of the four hundred and sixteen thousand wheat farmers who voted in the August fourteenth wheat referendum threatened to withhold his wheat from the market, it would not cause the suggestion of a ripple on the grain exchanges. Having no control over total supply, the individual farmer is almost powerless to protect himself from price fluctuations by the standard means of curtailing production, stimulating demand, or by moving into more profitable lines of production. On the other hand, there are social and spiritual values interlocked with American farm life which are unique and of significance for the welfare of the entire nation. The continuation of these values depends upon a steady and adequate income for agriculture.

CLEARLY the farm program will not be solved by any simple or single formula. But the following principles should guide the formation of a new program:

1. Any government aid to farmers should be in the form of direct grants rather than a tampering with the price mechanism. In place of price supports we suggest outright grants to farmers in times of depression and of low prices. Such compensatory payments can be considered a built-in, anti-depression policy similar to unemployment compensation, and as a reward to farmers for maintaining production, as they invariably do, even in the depth of the depression.

This idea is similar to the plan of Senator Flanders (R., Vt.) except that his proposal is tied to the parity principle and thus it fails to give the farmer an inducement to shift from one line to another in response to price movements. There are various ways in which compensatory plans can be carried out. The simplest would be to adopt a policy of maintaining net agricultural income at, for example, seventy-five per cent of the three pre-depression years (the beginning of depressions to be determined by the existence of a given percentage of unemployment). Payments would then be made to farmers equal to the difference between the current market price and a given proportion of the pre-depression price. This plan avoids the inflexibility of Flanders' plan, since pre-depression prices are much less rigid and more realistic than parity prices.

In all of these proposals, there should be checks to limit the assistance to *bona fide* farmers operating family-size farms. It seems unnecessary to use government funds to perpetuate corporation farms, absentee landlordism, suitcase farmers, and speculators.

2. The basic requirement of a permanent farm program is the maintenance of a high level of employment in our entire economy by vigorous use of methods which have now become standard. The farmer has a legitimate fear of a return to 1932 prices, but if such a depression is allowed to develop, no system, let alone the present artificial support program, could maintain farm income. The farmer will be better off with the assurance of ninety per cent of full employment in the economy as a whole than with ninety per cent of parity for a few of his products.

3. For both Christian and economic reasons, a farm program should be directed toward constantly expanding foreign trade both in agricultural and other commodities. We must avoid policies which seal off the domestic market and result in the inconsistency of the State Departments' pursuing one course and the Department of Agricultures' another, and both handcuffed by tariff, quota, and customs regulations. Agricultural exports dropped thirty-one per cent during the past fiscal year and constituted only nineteen per cent (as compared with the previous twenty-six per cent) of total exports. Much of this decline came as the result of a reduction in foreign aid, but in any case neither our own nor any other country desires a permanent relief program. The principal way therefore in which farm exports can be expanded is by lowering our tariffs on all imports and removing other import restrictions, so that high food-importing countries like Italy and Japan can acquire the dollars with which to buy our agricultural surpluses. Two measures already taken in furtherance of this policy of expanding trade are the International Wheat Agreement and the recent legislation permitting the Foreign Operations Administration to accept foreign currencies in payment for exports of agricultural surpluses.

4. A complete farm program should include measures to better conditions for the under-employed farm families, (including the seven thousand full-time families with annual incomes of less than twelve hundred dollars). Those who wish to remain on farms should be assisted through low-cost loans and other measures

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to enlarge their farming operations. The Farmers Home Administration which was established to assist low income farmers is well suited to carry out this work and to provide the necessary supervisory service. A complete farm program must also include provisions for the million rural migrants who have low standard living conditions and little social security. The recommendations of the President's Commission on Migrant Labor are a minimum objective to be secured for this branch of the agricultural community.

5. Government support for agricultural research and education should be expanded. This phase represents the government's traditional role in agriculture and one in which it has been the most successful. Farmers need to know how to cut costs, prevent waste, check losses from pests and diseases, build soil and increase productivity, and to turn out a superior product. They must have knowledge in order to switch crops when markets change. Moreover, the present expanded program of marketing research should benefit the farmer by increasing his percentage of the consumer's food dollar.

6. To remove some of the uncertainty associated with farming, we might also adopt a system of forward prices combined with a storage program. According to the former, a government board would estimate future supply and demand conditions, and each year before farmers make their production plans, would announce minimums at which prices for a given product would be supported throughout the production season. Such a policy does not incur the criticisms levelled at parity price supports since the guaranteed minimums would not result in surpluses. Errors of over- or under-estimation could be taken care of by additions to or subtractions from stocks held in storage under a consciously planned storage program.

7. Auxiliary programs which have been undertaken to improve the diet of the American people should be extended. It is estimated that possibly one-fourth of the nation's population customarily falls short of an adequate diet. Improvement in their diet will mean an increase in the demand for protective foods and in farm income. The school lunch program is another example of improving diets while creating a market for farm products.

Any farm program must meet the test of political realism. Despite the outcries for political scalps, there is a behind-the-scenes basis for a bi-partisan farm program. Commodity lines cut across party lines. Republican wheat Senators can do business with Democratic cotton Senators. But Congressmen are also badgered by pressure groups. They cannot be expected politically to drop a program for which there is currently such agitation as the present one, except for another program which is clearly better. They need to be encouraged by farm and civic leaders to press for a bold new agricultural policy.

CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA XVI

Catholics and Pressure Groups

WILLIAM P. CLANCY

THE initial difficulty in discussing "Catholics and Pressure Groups" is that "pressure" is a loaded word, applied ordinarily to groups whose activities one wishes, by its use, to condemn. Americans for Democratic Action, lobbying for public health insurance, is probably not, in its own view, acting as a "pressure group"; the American Medical Association, lobbying against public health insurance, is probably not, in its own view, acting as a "pressure group" either. Each is likely to think of itself as acting patriotically; the one to achieve "social justice," the other to preserve "free enterprise." But each is likely to think the other a "pressure group." Application of the term depends, usually, on one's prejudices and predilections.

Catholics are no exception to this. Discussion of Catholic "pressure" is widespread, but few Catholics like to admit that it exists. They would rather insist that those organized Catholic activities which some call "pressure" are nothing of the kind but rather clear and simple cases of promoting morality, securing justice, or suppressing scandal—all praiseworthy efforts which only an enemy of religion would denigrate.

I would like, then, at the beginning of this article to take the curse off its title by defining what I mean by "pressure groups." The definition seems to me to have nothing to do, essentially, with who composes them, what their motivation may be, what methods they employ, or what merits their goal may have. These are important but secondary questions; they arise when one asks whether a particular pressure group is good or bad. Essentially, a pressure group is, simply, one which attempts to influence the course of affairs external to itself

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through the methods of organized persuasion and propaganda.

To admit that a pressure group exists does not, therefore, imply that one necessarily disapproves of it. On the contrary, though we may dislike the organized influence of those with whom we disagree and find it polemically convenient to characterize it as "pressure," we must admit, I think, that such influence—"pressure" or not—is a necessary part of the democratic process.

In a free society not only individuals but groups as well have a right to make themselves heard and a duty to work toward those ends which they believe necessary for society's good. To imagine that this right and this duty can effectively be exercised without the use of "pressure" is to postulate a hopelessly romantic, hopelessly utopian State, one in which the citizens are more eminently virtuous, educable and wise than in any democracy which ever was or ever can be.

Much of the heated talk about Catholic "pressure groups" seems to me, therefore, largely meaningless in so far as it presupposes that to name them is to condemn them. In every free society there are times when men with the courage of their convictions must resort to "pressure"—to public protest, propaganda, and demonstration—in order to achieve their ends. This is part of "democracy"; it goes with functioning in the real world.

The Church has always resisted Quietism; it has never despised the world. It is in the world, and is concerned with the world's good—even its natural good. Those who cry "pressure" each time Catholics seek to influence society betray a poor understanding not only of the Church but of democracy as well. For in a democracy the interplay of conflicting forces must not only be tolerated; it must be welcomed.

The question of "pressure groups" in American life should not be posed as a categorical one: it is not a question of whether they should exist, but rather of what forms they can legitimately take. It is a question, ultimately, of prudence.

IT is not easy for two societies whose ends are divergent to live together. The long history of the Church's struggles with Princes and of their struggles with the Church underlines this fact. Concordats between the Papacy and the civil power have been a classic means of achieving some *modus vivendi* between two societies, each jealous of its own rights. But Concordats are not popular today, particularly in countries like our own where there is great concern over "separation of Church and State." The ancient problem of the two societies remains, and its resolution is still far from complete.

The use of political pressure by Catholic groups is a major—perhaps *the* major—aspect of this problem in the United States today. Certainly it is the most controversial. It has divided Catholic from non-Catholic and, in specific instances, Catholic from Catholic. There are, I think, two reasons for this; one obvious, the other more subtle.

The obvious reason is the rise in the United States of what Father John Courtney Murray has called "the New Nativism," the modern counter-religion of democratic absolutism. Mr. Paul Blanshard is its most celebrated prophet but he most certainly is not its founder, for it is the contemporary manifestation, in American terms, of an old idea. Its roots are in the Enlightenment; it had its classic expression in the French Revolution, and its hangover in the Third French Republic. It is the idea of the completely autonomous, thoroughly laicized, anti-religious State.

In this State, religion may be tolerated with a certain degree of enlightened benevolence, but its influence must be confined "to the Sacristy." Any attempt by it to go forth from the Sacristy, to make its voice heard in public affairs—any real challenge, in short, which it may offer to the State—must be resisted. Because this State is profoundly anti-pluralist and hence profoundly totalitarian, it hates diversity and, especially, it hates transcendence. The area of challenge it will tolerate in its public life is limited to what falls within the sphere of its own philosophy; it cannot, therefore, tolerate the transcendent challenge of religion.

This is, I say, an obvious reason for the controversial aspect of Catholic "pressure," but it has little to do with the real problems involved. It is external to them and concerns the peculiar totalitarian mentality of those who (in the name of "democracy") protest any assertion of religious values in the affairs of the State.

The more subtle reason why the use of "pressure" is at the heart of the question of Catholicism in America —and is perhaps its most controversial aspect—is part of the ancient problem of the Church and the State, each with its own proper ends, attempting to live together peacefully. As we have noted, the classic formula for achieving some *modus vivendi* between them was a Concordat in which the rights of each were defined, guaranteed, and limited by mutual consent. But this device would not solve the problem as it exists in the United States, for we have here a unique historic situation. It is not the old Confessional State, but it is not the laicized State of the Revolution either. It is, rather, a society in which civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions are clearly distinguished in law but yet are not set in mutual opposition. As Father Murray has written:

> There is [in the United States] a unique historical realization of the "lay" state—unique because this lay state is not laicized or laicizing on the Continental model. This lay state does not pretend to be The Whole—an absolutely autonomous, all-embracing religio-political magnitude with its own

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quasi-religious content. . . . On the contrary, there is in the First Amendment a recognition of the primacy of the spiritual—a recognition that is again unique, in that it is a recognition of the primacy of the spiritual life of the human person, as a value supreme over any values incorporated in the State. . . . In other words, the First Amendment rescues the American State from the monism which has characterized the modern laicized State. Its premise is the Christian dualist concept of man; and it recognizes that a dyarchy therefore governs the life of man and of society. . . .

In such a lay State, Father Murray observes, " . . . there is first the free obedience of the Christian conscience to the magisterial and jurisdictional authority of the Church; there is secondly the free participation of the citizen, as a Christian, in the institutions whereby all the processes of temporal life are directed to their proper ends," therefore " . . . in the native structure of the American system the citizen-of-religious-conscience is placed in the mediating position between Church and State. The Church is free to form the consciences of her members and they as citizens are free to conform the life of the City to the demands of their consciences. . . ."

THERE is a great burden here. For Christians, as citizens, to be "in the mediating position between Church and State" is a terrible responsibility. For them to be "free to conform the life of the City to the demands of their consciences" is a historic challenge. Father Murray recalls that the concept of Catholic Action, as elaborated by the recent Popes, has been called "the modern form of relations between Church and State." The Christian citizen of the modern lay State can thus be said to have inherited, personally, the function of the Concordat. In addition to being Christian-citizen he must be diplomat too, reconciling the two cities of which he is a member wherever possible, maintaining the principles of each without compromising his loyalty to either. This is a most delicate task.

The use of "pressure" has been one of the means by which Catholics living in the United States have attempted the task of conforming the life of the City to the demands of their consciences. They have thus been quick to argue, to demonstrate, to protest, to picket, to boycott when they have believed basic moral issues were at stake. In this they have insisted they were asserting their democratic rights, and have resented the charge that in doing so they were somehow undermining democracy.

The resentment, in many cases, has been justified. But does it touch the real problem? Granted that the use of pressure is, in itself, part of the democratic process; granted that Catholics picketing, protesting, boycotting are within their constitutional rights; granted that the outcry against them is often the result of anti-religious bias rather than of a real concern for freedom; granted all this, the real problem of when the use of pressure is appropriate to the Christian-citizen's role in a "lay" State remains unanswered.

I think we must say that in many specific instances the use of Catholic pressure has been neither appropriate, nor expedient, nor prudent. And for this reason: it has frequently been exercised without reference to the historic cultural and political framework within which it must operate—the framework of pluralist-liberal American society. Anxious to assert the validity of absolute moral values in the temporal order, Catholic groups have sometimes forgotten that the temporal order, as it is here and now, has its own exigencies, its own validities.

Organized Catholic efforts in the labor movement, in the fight for racial equality, in the struggle for social justice have undoubtedly involved many cases of "pressure," but little has been said of them. No one has protested that in fighting against restrictive covenants or demanding the right of labor to organize, Catholic groups were in a conspiracy to subvert American freedom. There is, I think, a reason for this. In these areas the Catholic effort has been made for the same basic reasons as in other more controversial areas. It has been the attempt to apply Christian principles in the temporal order, and as part of the attempt certain demands of the temporal order were made—but with a difference. The demands in these cases could not be interpreted as born of self-interest. And they did not ask of the temporal order what it could not give. They were consonant with its own nature and its own ends.

In other areas of American life, however, the Catholic temptation (which might be called a "moral temptation") has been to demand of the temporal order that absolute quality which is proper to the Church. When this temptation has expressed itself through pressure, particularly in the realm of ideas and the arts, the result has been often unfortunate and sometimes disastrous. "Pressure," as a justifiable form of Catholic activity, must be exercised in reference to the ends of the temporal society in which it operates as well as by inspiration of the eternal values from which it springs. In its use Catholics must not set the two societies in opposition. They must not ask that the State become the Church.

But they sometimes seem to do this. If they pressure the State to ban a book or a movie as "objectionable" and base their demand on criterion which the State, *qua* State, cannot know (sacrilege is the now classic example of this) they justify, however innocently, the fears of those who see Catholic influence as a threat to America's free traditions. And so they serve the good of neither Church nor State. It is not enough that some-

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thing be *true* to justify Catholics' demanding its enforcement in the temporal order. It must also be *possible* in terms of that order's own traditions and ends.

Unfortunately, we too often seem too sure of ourselves. We sometimes appear determined to beat society into conformity with what we think it should be. Our public face is frequently the face of Samuel Butler's seventeenth century Puritans:

> " . . . that stubborn crew
> Of Errant Saints, whom all Men grant
> To be the true Church *Militant*:
> Such as do build their Faith upon
> The Holy Text of *Pike* and *Gun;*
> Decide all Controversy by
> Infallible *Artillery;*
> And prove their Doctrine Orthodox
> By Apostolic *Blows* and *Knocks*. . . ."

When we wear this face we should not be surprised that our motives are widely misunderstood. For however pure they may be, they must be acted upon in a manner suited to the limitations of a democratic society. To act otherwise is to lay ourselves open to the charge of totalitarianism. This is the great lesson which, apparently, we have yet to learn. When we learn it thoroughly we will have matured in our role of mediator between the two societies of which we are members.

There is no reason for Catholics to retire meekly from the battle lest someone accuse them of infiltrating religion into the national life. Their double duty, as Christians and as citizens, demands their presence in the national life *as* Christian-citizens. But their presence must be that—as Christian-*citizens*—in so far as they act in temporal affairs. Their assertion of spiritual values in the political and cultural life of the nation must not prescind from or ignore the time and place in which they act.

What may be obvious to the Christian may be necessarily unknown to the State. What to him (with the sure knowledge of Revelation) may be certain, to the State may be doubtful. What to him may be vital, to the State may be a matter for indifference. This is the fact of the American "lay" State. It is a fact Catholics should remember in their life as citizens.

There is, perhaps, deep in the Catholic memory, nostalgia for an older, a safer, a more certain temporal order. We may not, all of us, have grown used to living in a pluralist culture, and some of our demands, some of our "pressure," may reflect this nostalgia, this immaturity as citizens of a free society. As our nostalgia disappears, as we mature, our voice may be lowered, our demands grow less strident, and (it is to be hoped) our own sense of vocation—in this time, in this place—more secure.

(With the publication of this article the series "Catholicism in America," which began in the May 1st issue, is concluded.)

THE STAGE

THE LADIES OF THE CORRIDOR

DOROTHY Parker's play, in which Arnaud D'Usseau has collaborated, is the sharpest disappointment of the season: a verdict which must be recorded with positive dismay. Its presentation has involved talents of a high and even auspicious order; the legendary history of its creator's forked tongue, the cultural chic of a title out of Eliot, and the more subtle provocation of observing a wit of this caliber disciplining itself to the dramatic form, caused considerable anticipation. What is disheartening about all this expenditure is that it has not even resulted in a failure of the class commonly called "interesting." That is, perhaps, a token of intellectual honor which "The Ladies of the Corridor" does not merit—all of which is to say harshly that, to no visible degree, does the work here either refine or extend the life of the contemporary American theatre.

"The Ladies of the Corridor" are those genteel victims of a business society, the unnecessary women: widowed, divorced, often wealthy, without emotional ties or family obligations, sometimes resourceful and gifted, leading lives of quiet desperation behind a screen of afternoon movies, visits to the hairdresser, and the moral crises of choosing a book at Womrath's. Death only awaits them, and tea at Schrafft's. The theme is full of tragic reverberation, involving as it does so much conspicuous human waste: it invites a dramatist of sloth and languor, of a civilization's dying fall. What, one is moved to wonder, might Chekhov have done with these ladies and their empty corridors! Miss Parker and Mr. D'Usseau have given them a small, vulgar pathos, sifted through with platitude, and crusted with a hard, indigestible layer of melodrama. One of these lost ladies (Betty Field) spirals down into alcoholism and suicide; another (Frances Starr) meanly traps her son into a life of subservience, and a third—played by the incomparable Edna Best—slides into an affair with a younger man, only to find that emotion may sour pleasure, and love turn to ashes in the mouth.

Each of these aspects of a melancholy theme has, at its center, a perception of reality, but the original insight suffers so much dilution and decay at the playwright's hands that its power is finally dissipated. To melodramatize the conflict of a mother and son—bound each to the other by hostility as well as love—is, for example, to do worse than merely obscure the true and permanent pathos of this situation; it is to falsify the very quality of life, with the cold purpose of providing a casual psychological *frisson*. Again: Miss Field, as the derelict wife, is required to indulge in a relentlessly

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maudlin monologue detailing her various abuses at the hands of a vicious husband. The ineptitude and vulgarity of this interlude corrupts something more than the scene itself; it ends by making a kind of commodity of human suffering.

In what may be called the specialty of the Parker House—that tale of the woman who has loved not wisely but too well—Miss Best has consequence and vivacious authority. She is an actress of the most unique attainment: she never relies on beauty alone, nor an easy pathos, nor does she ever reach for an effect without having adequately prepared the ground. Indeed, she seems to me one of the few American actresses who do not shape their roles out of a public image of some sentimental function, and this freedom permits her to create theatrical figures of distinction and—above all—intelligence: crisply outlined, often worldly and elegant, but capable of rich private depths. She is never a prey of life, always its worthy adversary. What a pity, then, that the playwrights have not given her the full and subtle context in which she might vibrantly have existed, but only a conventional sketch, decorated with the mild anxieties of middlebrow feminine fiction.

It is finally schizophrenia that afflicts "The Ladies of the Corridor." At one pole, Miss Parker's malicious gaiety, at another Mr. D'Usseau's morose hysterics. Between these, the whole real world: a world in which these tragedies would have dignity and equilibrium and even inevitability, where pain is not merchandised, nor the mysteries of human disappointment brought to the dull level of a sociological brochure. But that world demands the austerity of truth, and truth goes through these corridors crying vainly, looking for a door to enter. (*At the Longacre.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

THREE LITTLE MAIDS

FOR its second release in CinemaScope, 20th Century-Fox is presenting "How to Marry a Millionaire," a handsomely photographed movie that has to strain quite a bit to justify use of the new technique. On the wide screen we see some mighty impressive scenes of New York City, the locale for most of the picture, and some equally beautiful shots of snow and mountains—supposedly in Maine where one of the three heroines goes on a week-end jaunt with a butter-and-egg man. But "How to Marry a Millionaire" is meant to be an intimate little comedy about three girls who decide that marriage is a business: If a girl uses her head she can land a millionaire just as easily as a poor boy. Obviously most of the settings for this kind of shenanigans are indoors, particularly in the snazzy apartment the girls rent as a come-on, and while Betty Grable, Marilyn Monroe and Lauren Bacall look awfully attractive in Technicolor, the girls can hardly be expected to fill this wide screen all the time.

Producer Nunnally Johnson also wrote the script—from two plays: "The Greeks Had a Word for It" by Zoe Akins, and "Loco" by Dale Eunson and Katherine Albert. Even had he been making his movie for small screen, Mr. Johnson might have run into a little trouble trying to combine these two plays. When the film is not vulgar, it's funny. It has the kind of a plot that could be the starting point for a musical comedy. Although the girls never burst into song or dance, the picture, which also has stereophonic sound, is pretty both to see and hear.

MOVIEGOERS who aren't happy unless they're seeing a movie about thoroughly unhappy people should find "Stranger on the Prowl" very much to their liking. This grim little item, made in Italy with an English-speaking Italian and American cast, is concerned mainly with three people: a homeless man who desperately needs some money to get out of the country and who unintentionally kills a woman while he's hungrily stealing a cheese; a little boy who joins up with the running man because he thinks the police are chasing *him* for stealing a quart of milk; a young woman who has been stealing lingerie and is now being pursued by her evil-minded employer. Although these three roles are effectively played by Paul Muni, Vittorio Manunta (the youngster who was so appealing in "... Never Take No for an Answer") and Joan Lorring, and the supporting actors are excellent, the picture piles woe upon woe.

HOLLYWOOD was never one to let a theme die out until it has been milked to the last drop. The hero of "Gun Fury" is so tired of fighting and bloodshed after the Civil War that he's determined to settle down with his bride, farm his good California land and not even give a thought to what happens on the other side of his fence. Of course his plans go quite awry. While "Gun Fury" is not in a class with "High Noon" and "Shane" as first-rate westerns, it still manages to dish up a lot of exciting cinema while drumming home its points. Director Raoul Walsh needn't have got quite so violent, but what happens to Rock Hudson, Donna Reed, Philip Carey, Roberta Haynes should hold your interest; and the 3D has the added advantage of dropping a rock, arrow or villain into your lap every now and then.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

CARDINAL SUHARD AND AMERICA

Shreveport, La.

TO the Editors: As pastor of a suburban parish in a Southern city, might I comment on the communication of Mr. James T. Grady *re* Cardinal Suhard and America [October 16].

For the present I pass over the question of the American proletariat and would concentrate on: "That we have a very definite apostolate to the 'intellectuals' of our country seems to be to be beyond discussion. Whoever has talked to the graduates of our secular universities can only feel compassion for the many *who have found an ultimate* in some shade of Scientism." (Italics mine.)

Our suburban parish is upper middle class dominated by lawyers, doctors, engineers, geologists, corporation officers and department heads, educators, architects, newsmen, accountants, regional big-brand representatives, auto dealers, contractors, bankers, brokers, realtors, sales managers. This city of one hundred thirty thousand is ten per cent Catholic. An incomplete but sufficing survey made last month of our four hundred families reports one hundred fourteen college men and women, of whom thirteen graduated from Catholic colleges.

Now, the points of this letter, all pardonable generalizations:

First: My people manifest an increasing awareness that they *have not found an ultimate* in Scientism and Pragmatism. However, they are severely scarred by secular education. As sophomores and university fellows many thought they grasped an ultimate. But now at the age of thirty and forty, as men of growing experience and responsibility, they hunger for true ultimates. They begin to gag at mere opinions. Or at the very least their lack of philosophic and religious absolutes in this world of crisis, and their inability to resolve everyday personal and social problems without absolutes, present the pre-conditions for arousing a hunger for ultimates.

Second: They seek ultimates which will bridge the chasm of Descartes' dichotomy, that prolific breeder of secularism. With deepening penetration they realize that man is one and integral, that Sunday morning worship proceeds from the same intellect and will, from the same human person, as begets Monday morning deals.

Third: By all means, "There would be less separatism and more souls saved if our intellectuals could integrate the basic heritage of Western philosophical thought with the progress of the last two hundred years. We need the Catholic synthesis of Christian humanism Cardinal Suhard pleaded for which will show up the wretched

WHAT COULD BE DULLER

than to be a Housewife?

To be a NUN, obviously.

On the left you see one of the dull—a housewife,

Lucile Hasley

and below one of the duller—a nun,

Sister Mary Jean Dorcy, O.P.

Odd that these two ladies have both written best-sellers (which all the brighter ones would love to do) and, of all things, best-sellers which are mostly about their own cramped, monotonous lives. Which of the two is more amusing is a debate we hear frequently, and refuse to get involved in. You can make your own decision and have two Christmas presents in hand into the bargain for $5.25. The books are:

THE MOUSE HUNTER by Lucile Hasley

More of those Hasley-in-distress articles that made the author's first book, **Reproachfully Yours,** a best-seller and earned her a reputation as one of the most amusing women in America. This new book has five short stories which show, surprisingly, what she can do when she is serious. $2.75

and

SHEPHERD'S TARTAN by Sister Mary Jean Dorcy, O.P.

An inside view of convent life, with some startling sidelights on how our lives look from a nun's point of view. If we begin by thinking we are looking in at her, we soon discover that she is looking in at us —we are more confined than she is. $2.50

Order from any bookstore

The Christmas number of **Sheed & Ward's OWN TRUMPET** will help you a lot with your shopping, and it has something new, a Children's Supplement. We believe this will be really useful in helping children choose books they like. For **Trumpet** and Supplement, free and postpaid, write to **Lucy MacGill,**

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poverty of the secularistic humanism prevailing in American academic circles." From the context of Mr. Grady's communication I perceive, and agree with, his plea for the intellectual apostolate at Harvard, M.I.T. and other Eastern campuses.

My further plea is that we invigorate our apostolate to intellectuals not only from the top downward, but also from the bottom upward, presuming that my parishioners may be classed within the intellectual ladder at the bottom rung position. Let us have a grass-roots ferment which will then ascend into the higher echelons.

Fourth: "The wretched poverty of secularistic humanism" unveils its nakedness with starkest force in the real life situations of the operating room, editorial staff, court chamber, bargaining table, board of directors, country club barbecue and legislative floors where the ideas of "American academic circles" take on flesh, become incarnate in the managerial and professional, social and political lives of my parishioners. By their agency the idea becomes the act, the social theory becomes the contract, the political ideal the statute.

Fifth: My people perceive the inadequacy and rootlessness of most basic ideas presently motivating the social institutions in which they fulfill their role. They tend to ask: What are human rights? Whence derive duties? Why do men work? Why did God create natural resources? What is life all about? What is matter and spirit? the intellect? the will? How do they function? What of immortality? Good and Evil? Who *is* God? Who *am* I? What is Society? its purpose and institutions? What is the meaning of history? of today's crisis? Where do I fit in? Here is the human spirit crying out for ultimates in a world of shifting opinions and statistical polls. The intellect yearns for the True.

Sixth: In this hunger for ultimates I find hope. I find, too, a new challenge. Through what means am I to feed my people? How present to them that "basic heritage of Western philosophical thought"? How lead them to the flowing stream of Plato and Aristotle, Justin Martyr and Augustine, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas, Bellarmine and More, Maritain and Murray? Fifteen minutes in the pulpit is wholly inadequate. Pamphlets and periodicals only whet, or frustrate, appetities. We try intense, carefully chosen "think" groups, week-end institutes and weekly lecture courses with some success. Books are a considerable help. Still something more is needed; some sort of intellectual center *for adults*.

Seventh: In this Southern city needing higher Catholic education for adults we find ourselves three hundred miles north of Loyola in New Orleans and six hundred miles south of St. Louis University. Usually radiation from Catholic campuses barely reaches the adults of the college town; far less is the penetration to potential adult students of this hinterland.

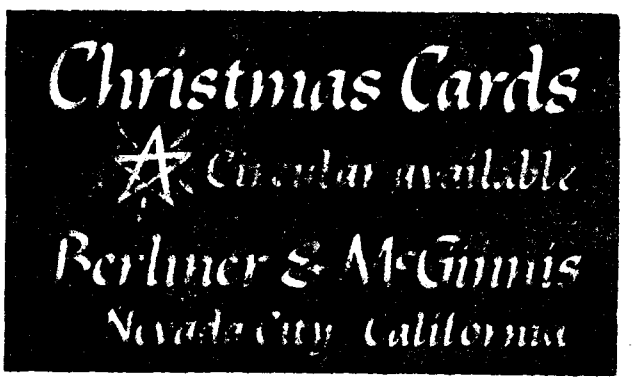
Eighth: We have come to speak of experimenting with an institution to meet our needs. Let us call it a *collegium*. The collegium is an idea, not a blueprint. We can barely discern its outlines. We have the potential students (participants is a better word): adults seeking truth, mostly college grads, no longer interested principally in degrees or credits, frats or boola-boola, majors or minors. Anxious to give three or four hours a week to the growth of their intellectual life and that of our Community-in-Christ. Concerned with their role of incarnating Christ into their workaday world, into the institutions and structures of society.

Finances? This year, and during each of the coming two years, our parish will spend thirty thousand dollars expanding and ten thousand dollars operating our grammar school. One hundred twenty thousand dollars for the schooling of our four hundred children aged five through fourteen years. Can we not find a few thousand for the education of the parents as of the children, of the mature as well as the juvenile? To refuse adult education is to act on the premise that the Catholic mind atrophies at the age of twenty-one. Our school system is over-balanced in favor of the children. To correct this imbalance we must forge a new implement which is a school and *still something more*.

Staff? Faculty? Start small. Certainly under the inspiration of Catholic University (my Alma Mater), Notre Dame, Fordham or some other of our great centers of learning. Possibly as a protege of Jacques Maritain a young man has grown to stature sufficient to undertake such an experiment in collaboration with local Ordinary, priest and lay leaders. The *philosophia perennis* with a social direction is the main scholastic requirement; a sense of mission and a social consciousness are the requirements of the heart and will. After a few years of trial and error others will appear in God's own time and manner.

Am I mis-reading my people's needs and my duties toward them? Is such a collegium possible? Already in existence unknown to me? Who would give counsel to a suburban pastor of a Southern parish?

(*Rev.*) J. B. GREMILLION.



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The Basic Dramas of Life and Death

PRIMITIVE HERITAGE. Edited by Margaret Mead and Nicholas Calas. Random House. $5.

By DAVID RIESMAN

AT a fiction writers' conference recently, I was struck by a novelist's contending that it was high time American writers stopped concerning themselves with "marginal" people—with children, old people, Southern ladies (and mammies), writers and professors—and come to the important centers of American power, to corporate officials and statesmen and such. Another writer felt that this new focus should be a "realistic" one, fully informed about American culture: novels should help us grapple with the real, that is, the big issues of our time. I do not think that these express a unique point of view, but rather a commonly held one.

This renewed call for what might be termed a "policy-oriented" fiction reminded me of analogous arguments within anthropology, where there is likewise a tendency to reject simple description of vanishing and marginal "small powers" in favor of policy-oriented analyses of big powers, of France, the Soviet Union, Hollywood, or the American middle class. Today, when neophyte anthropologists go "to the field," for instance to some South American Indian tribe, they may do so only to train for seemingly bigger game at home or to test hypotheses plucked from a rapidly-growing if thorny rose-bush of theory. The tribe in question thus tends to become a "problem" in the anthropologist's career-line or in that of science itself, and, as the result of tense professional preoccupations, the shock of confrontation with a radically alien culture is attenuated.

Indeed, as anthropology helps make us all less ethnocentric, that shock becomes repressed for reporter and reader alike; it takes a novel like Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to remind us of what it meant in the last century for hitherto complacent whites to encounter remote and preliterate cultures—the fabulous variety of patterned existences.

In her introduction to this anthology of reportage on what we now carefully call "preliterate" (in preference to the value-laden "primitive") tribes, Margaret Mead writes:

> "Can these be men at all?" is as comprehensive a response to the strange as is our ethically and scientifically disciplined "There, by grace of Technical Assistance, go men who could be even as I."

Most of this absorbing book, then, consists of first-hand observers' documents, going back to the Jesuit Relations of the seventeenth century, and stopping for such eyewitness artists as the painter George Catlin, whose account of a Choctaw ball-game has a Delacroix-like drama. Most of the excerpts, however, come from the professional anthropologists—from Malinowski and Kroeber, Boas and Ruth Benedict, Evans-Pritchard and others.

On the whole, the stress is not so much on the exotic as on the daily round of primitive life and its steps from babyhood to death. Since the chosen excerpts are taken *en bloc,* without cutting or condensation, the anthology gives this reviewer, not the impression of reading snippets, too compact either for comfort or reflection, but rather of pausing respectfully at each scene or incident. And this makes the book the more useful as a re-introduction both to the primitives themselves and to the meticulous as well as the grand traditions of ethnographic description—traditions which regarded the art-forms of a people, or their games, as no less intriguing than their government, social structure, or child-rearing practices.

To be sure, the anthology can only raise rather than answer questions as to what the tribes in question themselves find intriguing in their round of life: do they, for instance, take their ceremonials as seriously as they say they do, or impress the outsider as doing? Paul Radin and F. H. Cushing have different implicit slants on this, and both are represented in the volume; Bateson's description of New Guinea ethos deals brilliantly with discrepancies among behavior, feeling, and ideology; Dorothy Lee indicates the way linguistic forms may give clues to a tribe's *Weltanschauung*. Ruth Bunzel quotes a Pueblo potter:

> I am always thinking about designs, even when I am doing other things, and whenever I close my eyes, I see designs in front of me. I often dream of designs, and whenever I am ready to paint, I close my eyes and then the designs just come to me. I paint them as I see them.

Such a claim for independence and originality brings the reader back to himself as a reference point, to his own inescapable if expansible humanity and empathy.

Nicolas Calas, a cosmopolitan and sensitive writer and art-critic, returns in his introduction to the dramas of birth, growth, marriage, work, play, and death which we must all—the primitive and the civilized—encounter, subdue, and succumb to.

Being literate, we are privileged to read these reports, and to be grateful to people with curiosity, courage, or malaise greater than ours who went out to the field and made them. And we can also be grateful to the anthologists, Dr. Mead and Mr. Calas, for having gathered, not a collection of personal or professional favorites or a ground-covering catalogue, but an impressive and expressive reminder of the ways in which alien life-experiences have been recorded by especially gifted and, in most cases, especially trained, white observers. Even the recently-graduated professional, familiar with the "literature," that is, with the news of the currently fashionable, may find profit and stimulation in this volume; and everyone may, as this reviewer did, find pleasure.

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Three Shapers of American Values

ROGER WILLIAMS. By Perry Miller. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By I. Bernard Cohen. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

ANDREW JACKSON. By Harold C. Syrett. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

By WAYNE ANDREWS

A TRADITION worth defending is well worth pondering. For once we begin to understand our ancestors, we may discover that their achievements do not bind us to the past, but free us instead to face the future. We should therefore be grateful for this new series, "Makers of the American Tradition," edited by Hiram Haydn and Donald Bigelow of Columbia University. Neither biographies nor anthologies, but part original texts and part interpretations, the books in the series (to judge from two of the present three) will be a heartening event in our anxious age.

Well aware that many of us in our college days were indoctrinated with Vernon Parrington's interpretation of the founder of Rhode Island as "primarily a political philosopher rather than a theologian," the editors have wisely entrusted the reputation of Roger Williams to that expert of experts on New England Calvinism, Perry Miller of Harvard. As one might guess, Miller is not one of Parrington's greatest admirers. "A curious disservice," he points out, "has been done to the liberal, the Protestant, the patriotic traditions of this country by well-meaning panegyrists who, in making Williams over into their own terms, have made him unavailable in a day which has need of him."

The tolerance of the founder of Rhode Island was not born of indifference. Miller would have us remember that "Williams was always in his theological creed an orthodox Calvinist." His only heresy was his indulgence in typology. Puzzling over the mystical correspondences between the Old and New Testaments, he maintained "the utter impossibility of New England's magistrates, or of any other rulers or sachems in the world, being antitypes of Israel's sovereigns." There was no justification in the Bible, then, for the covenant on which the leaders of the Bay Colony insisted. Tracing the evolution of this "strict Calvinist who strayed into dangerous allegories," Miller has performed the notable feat of reading the whole of Roger Williams' writings. "Scholars familiar with seventeenth-century style have difficulty with them, while for the ordinary reader, even if he can come upon them, they present formidable terrors."

Yet there are wild and wonderful moments in the selections here printed, especially in that baroque plea for freedom of conscience, "The Bloody Tenet." Summing up William's career, Miller admits that "he exerted little or no direct influence on the theorists of the Revolution and the Constitution . . . yet as a figure and a reputation he was always there to remind Americans that no other conclusion than absolute religious freedom was feasible in this society." This is so well put, and the book as a whole is so elegant an advertisement of Miller's scholarship, that this reviewer would not care to make too much of what looks like an error in logic. "Whoever speaks with the accents of spiritual finality," the author tells us, "is a danger to the spirit." Was not Williams just as *final* in his way as his adversaries in theirs? And isn't his finality just the thing that makes him worth writing about?

TO compare Perry Miller's *Williams* with I. Bernard Cohen's *Franklin* would be doing a disservice to both authors. Yet it might have been just as well if Mr. Cohen had thought things over before rushing into print. Though the author complains that Franklin has too often been "reduced to a collection of commonly admired middle-class virtues," that is the impression a thoughtful reader will receive from

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Cohen's compendium. William Carlos Williams's brilliant essay from "In the American Grain" is not mentioned in Cohen's bibliography. The author would have been wiser if he had recalled the poet's words: "The terrible beauty of the New World attracts men to their ruin." "Franklin did not care to be ruined—he only wanted to touch." This, of course, is not the whole story. The homely philosopher from the Quaker City was an enormously clever man, the ideal minister to France during the Revolution.

UNLIKE Cohen, Harold C. Syrett of Columbia has whittled Andrew Jackson down to life size; his summary lists all of Old Hickory's failings—and all of his virtues, which means that this book will be required reading in college history courses for at least a generation. It will also have to be read, this reviewer hastens to add, by each of us who hopes to understand the Golden Age of American individualism. Syrett is no one's dupe; no cynic, he is almost as unsentimental as Flaubert.

Although Jackson did nothing about broadening the suffrage or lifting the load from the underprivileged before entering the White House, he was, Syrett tells us, "the first president to provide the majority with efficient leadership." Like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, he created the impression that he and his supporters were "the masters rather than the victims of the age in which they lived." The author adds that "a powerful president derives his power not by fooling the people, but by making a sustained effort to satisfy their needs and aspirations."

While Mr. Syrett is splendidly aware of the scope of Jackson's nationalism, he warns that his hero was not a prophet of the New Deal. "Every man was considered the architect of his own destiny, and if he bungled the job, he had no one to blame but himself. Jackson had not bungled the job, and he never thought that the government should aid those who had."

Toward What Is Great and Holy

THE NEW TOWER OF BABEL. By Dietrich von Hildebrand. Kenedy. $3.

By LEO R. WARD

THIS work has most of the merits we now expect in anything by Dietrich von Hildebrand, and if it is less ordered and unified than some things he has done, it yet has the advantage of being a composite of matters already developed by him on marriage, purity, the person, the liturgy, and the idea of a Catholic university. In that way it is a sort of simple and informal introduction to his works.

Several factors go together to make his thought stand out. For one thing, he has a deep sense of reverence and is able to convey it. To read him or hear him is to get the feeling, perhaps the conviction, that all things are good and somehow deserve to be included in the "sanctus." It would be a good deal to say that of all the Europeans coming to us in recent decades he has the greatest sense of the holy. But at least he gives the impression of being near to something great, something sacred in human and divine persons. In this regard he reminds us of others, such as Maritain, Lydwine van Kersbergen, Karl Stern and Joseph Pieper. In the present work, as in all his works, he says what this something great and holy is. It is not merely persons and grace and the Sacraments, but the whole sweep of being and any break-down of being.

If that is the character of being, it is good for man to stand in awe as well as to act and work in awe, to accept things with a sense of wonder and gratitude. Nature or the world is given for the intellect as well as for the eyes. It is a cross (he

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says) between profanation and dictatorship to try to make of the world a Sartre " 'world,' in which every object is such as we form it by our arbitrary freedom, and where no obligations issuing from the object exist.' "

Some years ago, Dr. von Hildebrand did a remarkable study on the idea of a Catholic university, in which he said that such a school has not as its primary business to save the faith and morals of students, but to look to adequacy of knowledge. That great study is reprinted here, slightly edited, and under the title "Catholicism and Unprejudiced Knowledge." Happily he raises and gives his reply to the question whether a Catholic scholar is simply a Catholic who is a scholar. Happily, too, he scolds those alleged followers of Saint Thomas who refuse to consult reality or experience again and again, and who think they can understand a philosopher without recourse to his primary intuition.

It seems to me that even in so good a book some matters are treated too facilely. The author appears to assume that all know, as if it were self-evident, which are "the deep events and happenings." Also on the relation of natural tendencies and ends to "value" he labors in this work as he has labored in others. Perhaps a simpler, more natural and biological view would need less defense.

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Early Realism

COUSIN BAZILIO. By Jose Maria Eca de Queiroz. Noonday Press. $4.

By GARY MacEOIN

MORE than once while reading this novel I caught myself thinking that in paper covers adorned with a semi-nude female, the book would make a drugstore hit. It hews extremely close to the current formula. Bazilio is an amoral, wealthy international adventurer. To relieve the tedium of a business visit to his native city, he drops in on Luiza, a young happily-married cousin, with whom he had had an innocent teen-age flirtation. As novelistic chance would have it, her husband is away from home for the first time since their marriage.

Soon the pages are sizzling with detailed descriptions of daily repeated adulteries. A difference, perhaps significant, from the current sex thriller is that Luiza's friends raise their eyebrows. One even makes ineffectual attempts to stop the intrigue. More important to the plot is the reaction of a servant, a bitter elderly spinster, who uses two intercepted letters to blackmail her mistress. She had hoped to shake down Bazilio, but he hopped a train and that was that.

From such unpromising material Eça de Queiroz fashioned *Cousin Bazilio,* one of the most famous novels in the Portuguese language, first published seventy-five years ago. In an Introduction to this excellent English translation by Roy Campbell, Federico de Onis (chairman of the Hispanic Department of Columbia University) says that if

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Eça de Queiroz had written in English or French, he would be universally considered one of the major novelists of the nineteenth century.

I incline to agree with him. In spite of the quaintness and artificiality for the modern reader of Lisbon life of the period, the characters remain fully alive. Eça de Queiroz is a complete master of the novel form. Each character performs an organic function, each incident advances the story without the intrusion of a superfluous phrase. The tension never slackens, building up to a blood-curdling climax in the mental anguish of Luiza, debasing herself before her servant in her efforts to hide her perfidy—efforts that ended only with the tragic deaths of both.

The defects of the book are primarily the defects of the author's literary aesthetic. A realist and naturalist of the schools of Balzac, Flaubert and Zola, he represents men and women as universally mean, despicable, cynical and morally unprincipled. Not a single character is attractive. Even the wronged husband wins no sympathy. At the last page one feels they all deserved what they got.

Eça de Queiroz has been frequently regarded by Portuguese Catholics as an enemy of religion. Little or nothing in *Cousin Bazilio* justifies such an attitude. Indeed, the underlying philosophy might place it with as much justification as some of Greene's or Waugh's books in the elusive category of "the Catholic novel." Though there is no virtue to get its reward in the end, vice is amply punished. Even Bazilio, who goes scot-free, leaves the reader convinced that he is adequate punishment to himself.

Cousin Bazilio will not restore lost faith in human nature. But the student of the realist novel will find it far superior to most contemporary efforts.

A Discovery of Cruelty

THE MARMOT DRIVE. John Hersey. Knopf. $3.50.

By T. E. CASSIDY

JOHN HERSEY has written moving and fine books about men and bells and men and bombs. In them, he has looked clearly and compassionately into the hearts and minds of his people, and has created atmospheres of splendor and ruin with force and artistry. In *The Marmot Drive,* temporarily we hope, he has lost his touch and his way. Although you can read this book with steady, mild interest, and occasionally feel the author's genuine humanity, you are generally let down. As narrative, it is disappointing, as symbolism it is cloudy, and as characterization it is unformed.

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friend. She finds the community strange, and even more strange when she finds that a marmot (woodchuck) drive has been organized by Eben's father, the Selectman, to rid a hollow of the beasts. Strangest of all, she finds herself and Eben forming part of the hunt, and therein the story unfolds.

The hunt is a flop, but during it Hester discovers that she is strongly drawn to the Selectman, allows herself to be petted a few times by a handsome village lout, loses most of her feeling for Eben, and dislikes or hates most of the other people. Finally, she and the Selectman, though innocent, are compromised. Then follows the vengeance of the villagers, who accuse him of attempted rape and subject him to a flogging. He does not protest, thinking the judgment is the villagers' outrage at the failure of the hunt. Hester can't bring herself to even attempt an explanation. So the weekend ends, and Hester has glimpsed the rawness and brutal simplicity of remote people's lives.

Conceivably, this is a scrutiny of society's cruelty, viewed at close and personal quarters. In that way, the flogging of the Selectman resembles Shirley Jackson's "The Lottery," with its surging finish in the stoning of the female victim. But the fault in Hersey's book is mainly one of omission. The characters in this village (and there will follow by some readers a taunting search through Connecticut for its counterpart) are strange and half-finished. Even Hester, who is the most complete, is a confused mortal, especially when faced by a woodchuck or the Selectman. In *The Marmot Drive,* the author might have gotten a few woodchucks, but, to be harsh, he has also bagged a turkey.

Labour Lord

BORN TO BELIEVE: An Autobiography. By Lord Pakenham. British Book Centre. $4.

By GEOFFREY ASHE

AS a Catholic peer and a fairly important Minister in the Attlee Government, Lord Pakenham stood perpetually nowhere in particular. He was a recent convert both to Socialism and to Catholicism, but he never seemed to display the convert's ardor. Hence, he estranged some people without winning the respect of others. When he had charge of the British Zone of Germany, he annoyed the Left by his friendliness with the Christian Democrats. When he had charge of the civil airways, he annoyed the Right by what was considered to be a high-handed flouting of legal precedent. He was never big enough to be cultivated by the press as a real bogeyman or clown—one simply had the impression of somebody bouncing about on the political sidelines with a toothy smile and an aura of incapacity.

The publication of *Born to Believe* establishes finally that this was an unjust picture, conjured up, I suppose, by the fact that the Left and the Right agreed on its essential nature and therefore made one think that it must be true. We no longer have cause to doubt Lord Pakenham's ability. An Oxford scholar in-

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volved in politics, he lacked the true politician's touch, but he made good. Before most of his colleagues, he saw where the best hope lay for building up a West German Government. Later, under his energetic administration, the civil airlines lost less and less money and eventually began to pay. A more profound achievement, however, was his exact sensing of the *Zeitgeist* significantly ahead of most other people. Since 1945 he has voiced that indescribable state of mind, that genial doublethink, which is beginning to be the habitual outlook of educated Englishmen in both parties. Today he is out of office; but his book shows that he is in his element.

A Socialist no longer embarrassed by doctrinaire notions about creating Socialism, he is at pains to retract every past militant utterance. Compromise, good will, social organization in the public interest—these are his guiding principles, as they are the guiding principles of the rising Gaitskells and Butlers. The self-revelation is not all conscious. Lord Pakenham insists that he joined the Labour Party out of a belief in human equality. Yet he fills his memoirs with reminiscences of the nobility and gentry, to the almost total exclusion of everyone else. He used to teach for the Workers' Educational Association; he was strenuously active for several years in the Oxford City Labour Party; yet there is hardly a single working-class figure in the whole volume. "Equality" here, one feels, is not of the Jacobin or even the American brand.

His Catholicism fits into the same picture. Arrived at by a long, careful, colorless process, a donnish sifting of evidence, it appears to be little more than a system of morals with unusually elaborate historical sanctions. Those things in the larger life of the Church which are splendid or terrible, mystical or miraculous, inspiredly idiotic or gloriously disreputable, do not count for much in Lord Pakenham's gentlemanly cosmos. The Chestertonian vision of the Faith going hand in hand with revolution is not for him.

He is busy at the moment presiding over a committee to investigate the causes of crime. It is an enlightened non-partisan body, and I am sure he is happy in it.

REVIEWERS

David Riesman, of the University of Chicago, is author of *The Lonely Crowd, Faces in the Crowd,* and the recently published *Thorstein Veblen.*

Wayne Andrews, author of *The Battle for Chicago* and *The Vanderbilt Legend,* is curator of manuscripts at the New York Historical Society.

Father Leo R. Ward, C.S.C., of the philosophy faculty at the University of Notre Dame, is a frequent contributor to The Commonweal.

Gary MacEoin, the editor of *Hacienda,* has recently written his autobiography, *Nothing Is Quite Enough.*

T. E. Cassidy is doing advanced studies in English literature at Columbia.

Geoffrey Ashe writes on literary and political questions for journals in both England and the United States.

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